DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 088 065 CS 201 013

AUTHOR Bussel, Alan
TITLE The Sunny South: A Gilded Age Publishing Phenomenon.
PUB DATE Aug 73
NOTE 37p.; Paper presented at the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism (Fort Collins, Colorado, August 21, 1973)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.75 HC-$1.85
DESCRIPTORS Administrative Policy; *Content Analysis; Editing; *Editorials; Fiction; Financial Problems; Higher Education; *Journalism; Literary Analysis; Literary Criticism; *Periodicals; Short Stories; *United States History
IDENTIFIERS Bryan (Mary Edwards); Seals (John Henry); *Sunny South

ABSTRACT

This document analyzes the South's most successful version of a Gilded Age reading favorite, the "Sunny South" story magazine, published by John Henry Seals and edited by Mary Edwards Bryan, in terms of its economic growth and development, article and short story content, and editorial policy. The history of the magazine is traced over a period of years from its inception in 1874 to its eventual sale to the "Atlanta Constitution" in 1893, and the development of the "Sunny South" is examined in terms of national, regional, and local contexts. This document also examines the personalities of the editor and publisher as they reflect editorial and content policies, specifically analyzing the magazine's conservative editorial remarks about Mormonism in contrast to a progressive approach toward women's rights and liberties. The document concludes with a brief summary about the editor and publisher. (RB)

ED 088065

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The Sunny South:

A Gilded Age Publishing Phenomenon

By Alan Bussel, Clark College

A paper presented to the History Division, Association for Education in Journalism, Fort Collins, Colorado, August 21, 1973.

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In Atlanta during the early 1880's a sometime lawyer and former schoolmaster joined forces with a versatile lady editor to publish the South's most successful version of a Gilded Age reading favorite, the popular story magazine. John Henry Seals was the publisher, Mrs. Mary Edwards Bryan his editor, and the Sunny South--"Devoted to Literature, Romance, the News, and Southern Development"--their publication. Though estimates of the Sunny South's circulation had been but 10,000 in 1880 and 7,000 in 1882, before 1885 the figure had jumped to 100,000, a mark only one other Southern periodical of the day could match.[1] But its circulation success is only part of the Sunny South's story. Its publisher's career exemplifies the entrepreneurial spirit that characterized the age; its editor was a teenage prodigy who on the Sunny South became a champion of women's rights and, later, a prolific and highly-paid dime novelist; and the magazine's feuilletons offer a sharply focused view of social and cultural issues of the period.

The Sunny South was by no means an isolated phenomenon. Its development must be understood in terms of national, regional, and local contexts. Plainly, the Atlanta paper was modeled after the country's most popular and successful story magazine, Robert Bonner's New York Ledger. Indeed, Mary Noel has called attention to the Southern upstart's slavish aping of the Ledger format of front-page picture and serialized fiction.[2] Like those in the North who copied Bonner's style, John H. Seals sought to attract a broad audience by offering a variety of stories and features designed to appeal to every member of the family. As did its Northern prototype, the Sunny South carried, in addition to fiction, sermons by well-known clergymen and profiles of public figures.

American readers everywhere had shown such enthusiasm for the Bonner formula that S. N. D. North noted the proliferation of the type in his 1884 report for the U.S. Census Office. He judged the papers patterned after the Ledger as the most successful kind of periodical outside those devoted primarily to news reporting. Though North may have looked down his nose at the Ledger's fiction ("not generally of the highest class"), he had to admit that the paper had captured the public's interest. He reported the New York publication had reached a circulation of as much as 400,000 an issue and that many rivals had tried to duplicate its approach.[3] John H. Seals was among the would-be riders of Bonner's coattails.

In the South alone more than a hundred literary magazines were to spring up during the period between 1865 and the end of Reconstruction. Not all of them, of course, were fashioned in the likeness of the Ledger. Behind many, writes a student of Southern periodicals, lay three motives. First, Southerners wanted to encourage a uniquely Southern literature; second, they wanted to put to rest the notion that their region was culturally inferior; and third, they wanted to chronicle the era of the ante-bellum South and the period of the Civil War.[4] Seals, while closely following the Bonner plan, emphasized at the same time the Sunny South's regional nature. Repeatedly the Atlanta publication urged readers to support it on grounds that a Southern paper, with Southern writers, was needed to stimulate Southern literature. As a promotional advertisement of 1881 stressed, the Sunny South was a Southern product that should not

be compared to "the cheap and trashy publications from the North."[5] A perceptive lady in Texas knew exactly what Seals was attempting to do; when she sent in her subscription renewal, she included an encouraging note:

> I have been a subscriber to your valuable and interesting paper for three years and hope to continue it through the balance of my life. I used to take the New York Ledger but much prefer the Sunny South. I am a native of Georgia and wish all Southern ladies could or would appreciate Southern literature, and I think it is their duty to do so.[6]

The popular story paper attracted a diverse audience in both the North and in the South. Among them, according to Ms. Noel, were substantial numbers of "young people."[7] Although the Sunny South prided itself on having family appeal, evidence suggests many of its readers were women. The paper's sentimental serials undoubtedly drew their greatest readership from women. A gossipy chat column, patterned after a similar feature in the Ledger, was definitely aimed at ladies The Atlanta paper's editorials gave considerable attention to concerns of women. In addition, the Sunny South's advertising columns contained a good many messages directed to women. Among these were ads touting nostrums for female complaints and messages advertising seeds and other gardening needs, musical instruments and instruction, and railway timetables and excursions. Table 1 shows the advertising breakdown for two representative issues.

Before the Sunny South there had been other attempts to publish

literary magazines in Atlanta. Scott's Monthly Magazine, for example, appeared from 1865 to 1869 and numbered Mrs. Bryan among its contributors. The Ladies' Home had been published in 1866-67; its associate editor and business manager was Lionel L. Veazey, later to serve with Mrs. Bryan as an editorial writer for the Sunny South.[8]

An ante-bellum publishing venture had first brought Mrs. Bryan and John H. Seals together. Seals, who had graduated from Mercer University in 1856 and had married a daughter of the college's founder the following year, had begun publishing the Georgia Literary and Temperance Crusader in Penfield shortly after completing his studies.[9] Mrs. Bryan, who had returned to her parents' home in Thomasville, Georgia, after her early marriage to a Louisiana planter had foundered, began contributing articles to the Crusader. When Seals decided in the late 1850's to move the paper to Atlanta and expand it, he asked Mrs. Bryan to come along as literary editor. She was then only 17 or 18 years old.[10]

During the year she worked for the Crusader Mrs. Bryan's great versatility first came to light. Seals's finances had been exhausted by the move to Atlanta, and he found himself unable to pay for free-lance contributions. Mrs. Bryan stepped into the breach and apparently produced much of the paper's content herself. In addition to filling the Crusader's columns, she also read proofs, selected articles, and even acted as office manager. Eventually this heavy load had its effect on her health, and she left Seals's paper to free-lance for the Augusta Field and Fireside.[11] Fourteen years would intervene before she worked

again for Seals.

During the war Mrs. Bryan managed her husband's Louisiana plantation while he was in the military. She also continued to write and submitted articles to the parish newspaper. The end of the fighting found the Bryans impoverished, and, to help make ends meet, early in 1867 she took a job as editor of the Natchitoches Semi-Weekly Times. There she wrote her first political editorials, and there she suffered personal tragedy when her young son died. By 1868 she was contributing again to Scott's Monthly in Atlanta, and she and her family may have returned to Georgia around that time.[12] By the late 1860's Mrs. Bryan had already earned a considerable reputation as a poet. A contemporary critic said that suffering had increased her powers and ranked her as chief Southern poetess in terms of "vigour, passion, and imagination."[13]

The war and its aftermath had also brought changes for John H. Seals. When Mrs. Bryan returned to Louisiana, Seals had hired Mrs. L. Virginia French of McMinnville, Tennessee, to take her place as literary editor of the Crusader, but the paper had been suspended during the war. In January, 1860, Seals had brought out a political paper, the Daily Locomotive. His brother, the novelist A. B. Seals (his Rockford: A Romance would appear in 1861), served as editor. The Locomotive failed to gather steam--and subscribers--and failed in less than a year. But Seals managed to keep a job office going during the war by turning out materials for General Braxton Bragg's army and for the Richmond post office.[14]

When the war ended Seals, his wife Mollie, and their only child. Millard, moved back to Penfield. He was admitted to the bar and practiced law at Greensboro for several years. Though he disliked the profession, Seals used to enjoy recalling how he had won a hard-fought will case against former Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens. (Stephens, incidentally, was to become one of Mrs. Bryan's patrons; he would call her first book, Manch (1880), "the best American novel yet published.") Seals, tiring of the law, turned to teaching. Between 1870 and 1874 he founded the Lee High School at Greensboro and then became principal of Boys High School at Cuthbert.[15]

But during the years of his exile from Atlanta the idea of becoming a publisher again must still have been Seals's fancy. He most likely followed the Ledger's success, and possibly he heard stories of the financial rewards the paper had reaped for its owner. In 1868 the New York Herald reported that Robert Bonner had earned $238,411.[16] In 1874 Seals, then about 41, quit his principal's job, scraped together some money, and headed back to Atlanta to try publishing once more. He again chose Mrs. Bryan as his editor. Surely he remembered how ably she had performed during those lean days on the Crusader, and he knew from first-hand experience how valuable her speed and versatility could be for a publication backed with limited resources.

The first issue of the Sunny South appeared early in November, 1874, and was an immediate flop. "It was a great disappointment," Seals later recalled. "I thought the first issue had broken me." But he refused to

give up. He wangled a loan of $200, dug up another hundred on his own, and had the luck to find a paper salesman willing to extend him two months' credit. Seals brought out his second issue on New Year's Day, 1875. It too failed to bring in any income. Yet he refused to give up his dream. Sixteen years later, Seals, in an expansive mood, told what happened next:

> I begged and borrowed and scraped and promised for the next issue, two weeks later. That third issue was the turning point--many poured in, and the paper was a success.
>
> My head was turned, and then my own extravagance nearly sunk the paper. I had expected fortune in a hurry, and the immediate success of the paper was the worst thing that could have happened for it. The first ten or twelve years was up hill. Many a time I have run the press all night, and pawned my watch to pay the printers.[17]

The Sunny South's early struggle was probably even greater than its publisher could bring himself to admit. During the early part of its first year the paper appeared only twice each month, and an announcement in the eighth issue implied a lack of funds when it explained that no back numbers were available because the Sunny South could not stereotype its forms.[18]

Getting a literary magazine--even a middlebrow publication such as the Sunny South--started took real fortitude. The obstinacy that must have moved Seals shows clearly in an engraving of him published in the Atlanta Constitution in 1891. It depicts a countenance dominated by a large nose and eyes and punctuated by a drooping mustache that merges with a neatly trimmed, spade-shaped beard; the hair is long but not shoulder-length and is swept back from the high forehead. The

deeply set eyes contribute most to giving the entire portrait an aspect of intensity and determination.

Simple determination sometimes wasn't enough. When things at the Sunny South looked bleakest, Seals often turned to prayer, and he relied especially on the supplications of his devout son to see the enterprise through. A volume dedicated to the memory of the youth, who was killed in a railway accident in 1876, tells of a particularly trying period when the publisher, "crushed in spirit and overwhelmed with financial difficulties," despaired of keeping the young periodical going. He lacked money and credit, and Atlanta's banks were wary of loaning to newspaper people because their line of business had a shaky credit standing. Seals, enveloped in gloom, has just given up to "hopeless despair" when there comes a knock at his door. It is an old gentleman with an excellent credit rating who offers to act as co-signer on a loan of a thousand dollars. The story ends like one of Mrs. Bryan's sensation novels:

> It was so generous and so unexpected [an act] that it was overwhelming, and will be remembered by Col. Seals as one of the happiest incidents of his life; and no doubt that one noble and disinterested act established a paper which will one day be recognized all over the world as the great representative journal of the South. The pressure was removed, and joy unspeakable flooded the bosom of Col. Seals; and then came in Millard's triumphant "I told you so!" and his face glowed as the countenance of an inspired prophet. There is not the shadow of a doubt that his prayers had something to do with it. Yes, indeed, that old man was sent in by Millard's God, in answer to his prayers. Who can doubt it?[19]

Seals was fortunate in having Mrs. Bryan, as well as Millard's prayers, on his side. Her early serial, "Twice Condemned; or the Border Mystery," undoubtedly helped boost readership. Details on the early years of the Sunny South are sketchy, but for the 10 years Mrs. Bryan was to work for Seals's paper she was, as an admirer put it, to cast "the diamonds of her mind" across its pages. By 1879 the magazine had struggled to a circulation estimated as "not exceeding ten thousand."[20]

As early as 1878, Seals, buoyed by success, was touting his Sunny South Steam Publishing House as the busiest printing firm in Atlanta, and he had reason to believe his own claim. Not only were Seals and his brother William publishing the Sunny South each week; they also boasted of turning out 13 other periodicals of a diverse nature. Among the publications regularly coming off the presses at 24 Broad Street were the Jewish South, the Boys and Girls of the South (established in 1877), the Southern Enterprise (1876), the Grange Herald, the Good Templars' Advocate, the Southern Medical Record (1870), the Clinical Record, the Acanthus (1877), New Medicines, Agents' Manual, the Piedmont Air-Line Headlight, the Atlanta City Directory, and the Georgia Baptist Worker.[21]

If Seals had dreamed of becoming the Southern Robert Bonner, it appears at first glance as if his dream had a chance of becoming reality. Closer examination of the publications he issued, however, tends to cast doubt on just how rewarding his success was. Most of the publications were not really managed by Seals but were only printed at his shop. Among these were the Good Templars' Advocate, a temperance paper; New

Medicines, whose editor and proprietor was a local physician; Southern Enterprise, an agricultural sheet; the Agents' Manual; and the Jewish South, which was also published in New Orleans and whose Atlanta editor was the rabbi of a local synagogue. Entries for most of these job projects are not included in the Ayer Annual for 1880, but Southern Enterprise and the Southern Medical Record do appear; no circulation is given for the former, while it is recorded that the medical journal had suffered an indefinite decline. The Seals family had an editorial hand in but two of the publications printed at the Broad Street shop. Besides the Sunny South itself, the Sealses exercised real editorial control of only the Boys and Girls of the South, a publication aimed at the juvenile market. Mary Bryan served as assistant editor of the Boys and Girls in 1879, and W. F. Seals and N. T. Seals were listed as its proprietors.[22]

It was the Sunny South that was the pride of the Seals empire. By the early 1880's Seals, relying heavily on Mrs. Bryan's multi-faceted talent, had managed to build the venture into a modest success. The paper, which was published on Saturday to give readers time to enjoy it over the weekend, sold for five cents a copy, or $2.50 a year in the early part of the decade. Littleton H. Moore, who has made a close study of the paper's poetry, concludes that most of the poems and a good deal of the other fictional content can be characterized as sentimental, didactic, and provincial in outlook. But Seals knew how to please his readers. Moore counted not only Southern readers but some from as far away as Washington Territory, Chicago, New York, Boston, and Canada.

Besides the serials, short stories, and poems which were the paper's mainstays, brief news items and editorials also appeared; in 1882 these took up as much as a fifth of the paper's columns.[23]

Presiding over the Sunny South as associate editor, Mrs. Bryan, as she had done on the Crusader years before, showed versatility. From her pen flowed columns, serialized novels, and poetry. She probably also wrote many other items not clearly identified as her work.

Although Mrs. Bryan is remembered for her prolific fiction--by one account she turned out a total of 47 novels--her editorials have been neglected. She, along with Lionel L. Veazey, appears to have been mainly responsible for filling the editorial page of the Sunny South each week. Editorials written by her were signed with a single star or asterisk, while those penned by Mr. Veazey carried two.[24] Many unsigned editorials appear, and these may have been written by John H. Seals or other members of the staff. In any event, the Sunny South's feuilletons reached a diverse audience, and the items themselves reflect this diversity. During the early 1880's Sunny South editorials commented upon many of the major issues of the period. There were, for example, a number of editorials on women's rights and coeducation; a good many on the sensational trial of President Garfield's assassin; many dealing with race relations; and several concerning general cultural issues. But the topic to which perhaps the greatest attention was given was the Mormons. Lionel L. Veazey, who took a generally more conservative position than Mrs. Bryan, abhorred Mormonism and felt it constituted a

national menace. Mrs. Bryan shared this view, and together they were unrelenting in their attacks on the faith.

Writing in April of 1881, Veazey condemned Mormonism as "a despotism within the borders of our free country" and called for a firm application of law and order in Utah; he felt such a stand would encourage immigration which would loosen the Mormons's grip on the state. Polygamy, of course, was the real issue which provoked Veazey's detestation of the Mormons. In July, 1881, he intimated this in an editorial about the tendency he discerned toward Negro polygamy. "Many colored men," he wrote, "are practically disciples of Brigham Young on this one point."[25]

It became clear that polygamy was the chief objection in an unsigned editorial of October, 1881. The writer charged the Mormons had "rejoiced" at Garfield's assassination and went on to chide the government for allowing the "reptile" of Mormonism to survive. But the writer condemned most strongly the notion that multiple marriage was compatible with true religion. The author argued, on the contrary, that polygamy was dangerous to morality and that it broke down family influences. "The women [in Mormon society] are downtrodden and in many cases heartbroken," the editorial claimed. "The children grow up ignorant, brutish, sensual."[26]

Mrs. Bryan, as well, voiced alarm about the danger posed by what she termed, in an editorial of 1881, the "polygamous excrescence in Utah." Elimination of the Mormon "nest of vipers," she felt, would be a positive step for the new President, Chester A. Arthur, to take. Two years later

she would refer to the Mormons as "the blot on our national fame," while her colleague Veazey would once more speak with revulsion of "the monster evil" in 1884.[27]

But the most outraged condemnation of Mormonism came from neither Veazey nor Mrs. Bryan but from a contributor named J. J. Spranger, who claimed to have visited Utah some years before he wrote about his trip in April of 1882. He lavished praise upon the Western landscape but said its beauty was marred by "a revolting creed" that promoted maltreatment of women and looked upon humans as chattel. He concluded his tirade with a blustering tangle of mixed metaphors:

> Is it not time that our government should raise its hand to stem the progress of this cancer on the body politic, and wipe out this stain from our national escutcheon? Polygamy is an evil which demands the attention of the patriot, the statesman and the Christian. Let it not be said . . . that we foster or even permit, in our midst, a system so demoralizing, so debasing as that which is hid and has made its refuge and home in the lovely valley of the Great Salt Lake--the Mormons [sic] Paradise of Lust.[28]

While Veazey and the other Sunny South writers were united in opposing Mormonism, he was uncertain over the question of limiting immigration and did a flip-flop on the issue. First, in May of 1882 he condemned the exclusion of Chinese from the United States, charging that this was "in entire opposition to the spirit of our institutions." Veazey noted with irony that the same people who had favored halting the immigration of the Chinese, whom Veazey considered "desirable"

newcomers, had also been among the most insistant upon giving uneducated (and, by implication, the less desirable) Negroes the full privileges of citizenship. Just three months later, however, he had radically altered his stand on immigration. Fearful of the growing tide of foreigners, he predicted their mingling with Anglo-Saxon and Nordic stocks would weaken the American race. "If we are to have a high-blooded race in America," he concluded, "the African must be induced to return to Africa and the Mongolian must be forbidden our shores."[29]

As the editorials on the Mormons and Veazey's about-face on immigration have indicated, the Sunny South was far from being a proponent of universal brotherhood. On the contrary, its views reflected Southern racial prejudices, and these feelings became even clearer in the paper's comments on Negroes. Veazey, in particular, was disparaging toward those the Sunny South often referred to as "our brothers in black." Commenting on what he felt was the tendency of black women to shun work and to henpeck their husbands, he said it was only natural that so many black men resorted to beating their wives. He argued, therefore, that black men who assaulted their spouses should not be subject to a penalty as severe as that a white man might receive for the same type of crime. Veazey said that if the black race improved--he had his doubts it would--then the women would improve as well, would grow more industrious, faithful, and less likely to abuse their husbands. If that point were ever reached, he predicted, the occurrence of wife-beating would end.[30]

Later Veazey would challenge the assumption that blacks, because they had learned to read, had intellects equal to those of whites. He would also question Negro understanding of the political process.[31]

Mrs. Bryan joined with Veazey in condemning miscegenation. Speaking critically of Frederick Douglass's marriage in 1884 to a white woman, she praised the idea of legally prohibiting racially mixed unions. "The elevation and progress of the white race," she wrote, "is contingent upon its maintenance of purity of blood." Veazey, who had previously called for stemming immigration in order to insure racial quality, said miscegenation thwarted the instinctual preference of races for members of the same race. Trying to level humanity through interracial marriages was, he felt, akin to requiring that all men should think alike.[32]

Blacks in the abstract, at least, could elicit sympathy from Mrs. Bryan and a sort of anthropological curiosity. Once she admitted that she thought Negroes strange but likeable. "I find it diverting to study their quaint, mixed natures," she wrote. She admired their kindness and cheerfulness and judged their work habits fairly satisfactory "for creatures with the indolent tropic blood in their veins."[33]

Besides sharing an abhorrence for miscegenation and polygamy, Mrs. Bryan and Lionel Veazey took a similar position in their comments on the trial of Charles Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield. Guiteau's case, of course, was one of the most sensational of the day, and the murderer stirred a national controversy by seeking to escape execution through a plea of insanity. Veazey urged that Guiteau's plea go unheeded lest it should set a dangerous precedent. "Should he escape on this plea," Veazey reasoned, "insanity will become the fashion with all persons who wish to do badly and pass unpunished." Mrs. Bryan

was probably thinking of Guiteau when she penned a column in favor of capital punishment. Society, she argued, had not yet outgrown the need for the death penalty, which she felt offered the best possible way of "ridding civilization of the poisonous human excrescences that mar its growth." She did, however, denounce public executions as harmful and called for carrying out death sentences with greater dignity and in private, so as to increase the awe of the penalty.[34]

Guiteau's insanity was further questioned in a Sunny South "Random Talks" column late in 1881. The piece described the defendant's wild courtroom antics and said they could indicate either insanity or polished acting but that there was really no way to tell. In any case, society had to protect itself. "Justice cannot stop to weigh motives and search for intricate causes," the writer concluded. "We must leave that to the great Adjuster. . . ."[35]

The notion that the actions of others may have spurred Guiteau to commit his crime was challenged by Veazey, who argued that such a defense was not mitigating. He felt, indeed, that acceptance of such reasoning would make it impossible to punish criminals. Veazey said that "God Himself does not excuse the actual perpetrator because [he was] instigated by others." Meanwhile, Mrs. Bryan was expressing horror over a proposal to put the executed assassin's body on ice and exhibit it around the country. "A ghastly joke," Mrs. Bryan called it. The idea of putting Guiteau's remains on show indicated to her that interest in sensation and greed had poisoned the American character.[36]

Though Mrs. Bryan and Veazey held similar viewpoints on many issues, they differed somewhat on others. In the matter of educational philosophy, for example, Mrs. Bryan was decidedly more progressive. Writing in April, 1882, on the conflict between the old-fashioned emphasis on the classics and the more modern scientific training that some colleges had begun to offer, she granted that the study of Latin and Greek could provide keys to understanding the ancient world, but she faulted the classical way for neglecting science. She spoke favorably of a local teacher who had successfully experimented with teaching through observation rather than by rote. The examination of natural phenomena called for at least as much mental agility as did the study of languages, she argued, and scientific education had, as well, the advantage of being eminently more attuned to problems of the real world. Veazey was more cautious. New methods, he said, provided no short cuts to creating a knowledgeable individual. Learning was often tedious and called for intense effort on the part of the student.[37]

Veazey and Mrs. Bryan also discussed the uses to which the intellect should be put. Condemning the avaricious creed that marked the Gilded Age, in 1881 she wrote:

> The progress of a people consists largely in the development of the material interests, . . . but there is something necessary besides these. The development of the intellectual character of the nation should keep pace with its physical progress else true nobility and refinement will be lost sight of. We Americans are in danger of ignoring this phase of progress. We are losing the reverence for learning and for true literature and high culture.[38]

Mrs. Bryan's words might have been the echo of an editorial Veazey had written earlier the same year. In it he stated:

> Money-making is not the only concern of life. Man should have his ambition fixed upon something higher than the accumulation of wealth. Besides, were there not men of intellects sufficiently cultivated to speculate and invent, all material progress would soon be at an end. There must be men to think as well as men to dig if we would have the world keep going.[39]

But Veazey later altered his view drastically. By the summer of 1882 he had become a cynic. "Money is power now, beyond learning, beyond talent, beyond even genius," he wrote. He called attention to the control that wealth exerted over both commerce and government, sharply criticizing corporation heads for caring more about adding to their power than about meeting the needs of the people or the government. A young man seeking to rise in the world would be wise, Veazey suggested, to seek out a speculation that would bring him riches. "He need not dream that brain culture will ever place him high, unless it is of the kind that can convert itself into money." Shortly Veazey would go so far as to question the validity of giving greater numbers of students a college education, on the grounds that a college background might prove a disability when graduates sought positions in the workaday world. Veazey explained that he did not object to high culture for a few but favored the extension of common culture to many.[40]

The Sunny South's chief editorialists varied in their approaches to the question of evolution. Veazey, representing the fundamentalist

point of view, reminded readers that evolution was a theory only and a theory, at that, which led to conclusions that were anathema to Christians. These conclusions, said Veazey, were "so abasing, so very gloomy, that to accept them as a creed will be its own punishment."[41]

If Mrs. Bryan, on the other hand, was not exactly ready to espouse the theory against which her colleague argued, she was at least more willing than he to speculate fancifully on where it might lead. Here, as in her readiness to explore the possibilities of scientific education, we see a personality open to ideas, more attuned to the future than the past. Unlike Veazey, Mrs. Bryan appears to have possessed an optimistic, progressive frame of mind. This attitude is illustrated in a column she wrote on the exhibition in London of a creature thought to be the "missing link."

> The interest which attaches to the Darwinian theory [she wrote] will surely lead to thorough investigation in the matter. There is something strange in the mixed feelings with which we regard the ape species--a strong curiosity touched with pity, yet blended with a singular repulsion--a feeling different from that excited by any other animal. A queer theory explains this by asserting that the monkey is the Devil's special creation--his supreme effort to imitate God.[42]

The most impressive evidence of Mrs. Bryan's progressivism, however, may be seen in her attitude toward the role of women. For this woman who had married while still a teenager, had become an editor before reaching 20, who had run her husband's plantation during the war and helped support her family after it; for a woman who was serving as

chief editor of the South's most popular story weekly and would go on to a highly successful career in New York--for such a woman it seems only natural to have held strong views on the rights of her sex. In doing so in the early 1880's she antedated somewhat the reawakening of the American agitation for women's rights, which Aileen S. Kraditor traces from the formation of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1890.[43] While Mary E. Bryan might not have sought the vote, she would certainly have seconded the petition of Irene Reese of Futaw, Alabama, who wrote the Sunny South in 1881 in behalf of equal job opportunities for Southern women. Ms. Reese said Southern women were being denied the right to work, while their Northern sisters were finding jobs in shops, stores, and government offices. Opening jobs for Southern women, Ms. Reese predicted, would mean that energy formerly spent on trivial household chores and gossip would be redirected into "making the South what she ought to be--the grandest land in all the world."[44]

Three months after Ms. Reese's plea was published, an unsigned Sunny South editorial backed more jobs for women. It particularly favored opening medicine to women. "The average woman is good material for an average doctor; and average doctors are what most of us have to depend on when we are out of health," the editorial went. While expressly denying any interest in the ballot, the writer called for "woman's right to do anything she is fit for, and to earn her living at any employment for which she has the capacity."[45]

By 1884 Mrs. Bryan could report positively on the increase of jobs for women in Atlanta. She noted that practically every occupation had been opened and that women were working not only as physicians, but also as clerks, bookkeepers, telephone and telegraph operators, librarians, and even type-setters. And by early 1885 she may even have moved closer to a cautious endorsement of suffrage, as well as jobs, for women, when she spoke approvingly of a speech suffrage campaigner Susan B. Anthony had given in New Orleans.[46]

Mrs. Bryan also had strong feelings about coeducation. When a contributor to the Sunny South opposed it on grounds that young men and women attending the same classes would be too excited by the other sex's presence to learn anything and that rivalry and discipline problems would result, Mrs. Bryan answered by taking an entirely different point of view. Tests at several colleges, she said, had turned out so well that "many of the doubting have become convinced that coeducation of the sexes calls out the sprightliest mental exercise and gives the healthiest moral tone." Mrs. Bryan noted that the prominent educational leader Andrew White, president of Cornell, had been "very positive" on coeducation.[47]

The notion about her sex that brought forth perhaps Mrs. Bryan's sharpest reaction was that all women needed husbands. When a Macon, Georgia, editor proposed finding spouses for unmarried British ladies, Mrs. Bryan disagreed strongly and argued that, on the contrary, single women were essential to a properly functioning society. Who but

spinsters, she asked,would

> write the novels, pet or scold the curates, keep up the sewing societies, the Sorosis, the Woman's Temperance Unions, the Dress Reform Movement, the Vegetarian Movement, the Benevolent Homes, etc.? Who will retain society in the straight and narrow way by keeping a sharp eye--and sharper tongue--upon it--who but the women, that, untrammeled with domestic fetters, silken or otherwise, are free to give to the world at large the energies they might else expend upon home and family?

Society, Mrs. Bryan maintained, also needed individuals to work for high culture and art, an assignment for which she thought women were especially suited. She even used evolution to support her argument, drawing parallels between unmarried women and insects such as bees and ants that had developed "creatures of exquisite intelligence" who were practically sexless but whose talents were focused upon performing vital work. She also compared spinsters with plants that had no sex but which nevertheless gave delight to those who beheld them.

> Why may not the stalk of humanity develop at its topmost boughs the sexless woman--a barren but beauty-creating and use-breathing blossom? There are already indications of such an evolution. There are women engaged in doing the world's work--its lowlier as well as its loftier--who give no more thought to marriage than if they were sexless creatures. Nor are such beings unlovable. Women have in them strong, unselfish counselors, helpers and sympathizers; and though they have no sensual attractions for men, yet these find in them good friends, genial comrades and intelligent co-workers.[48]

Woman's intellect was evolving too. In an unsigned editorial that bears the marks of Mrs. Bryan's thinking, it is noted that women had

made great strides in improving their mental capacities. In this evolution, the editorial conjectured, women would continue to make slow but steady progress that would eventually bring them into "a perfect mental equality with that masculine being who has too long lorded it over the world's great sisterhood."[49]

The advancement of women also had its physical aspect. Mrs. Bryan called attention to the improvement in the female constitution that had been brought about by better hygiene and greater participation in healthy exercise. She endorsed cycling as a particularly good form of exercise. In fact, she felt the cycle might one day supplant the horse as a means of getting around.[50]

Mrs. Bryan, however, disapproved of some other sports. She called prize fighting "disgraceful" and said cockfighting was as reprehensible as bullfighting was in Spain. Of the walking race craze she was especially critical. She felt such contests engendered "unhealthy" excitement, emphasized brute force, and promoted gambling. In an unsigned editorial the Sunny South would later complain about baseball, terming it a "nuisance" that diverted the attention of Southern men and boys from work to play.[51]

In summary, Mrs. Bryan's editorials in the Sunny South shared the conservatism of her colleague Lionel L. Veazey on Mormonism, miscegenation, and the insanity issue in the Guiteau trial. On culture and education her views were more progressive. It is on the issue of woman's role--an area Veazey seems not to have touched--that Mrs. Bryan's

strongly progressive outlook makes itself most emphatically felt. Here was a position quite akin to that held by many of today's champions of women's rights, and Mrs. Bryan's views, though couched in Victorian rhetoric, often sound strikingly modern in tone.

Although some readers of the Sunny South may have admired Mrs. Bryan's forward-looking editorials, she was much better known to a larger audience as the author of numerous popular novels. Her speed and versatility, which had proved so important to Seals's Crusader and then his Sunny South, would in the 1880's and 1890's be turned to the production of a steady stream of novels. A contemporary, Wallace P. Reed, said Mrs. Bryan had been known to work on four different books at once, juggling their intricacies without apparent difficulty. Her novels, Reed felt, were notable for their "vivid coloring, graphic and picturesque description."[52]

To a modern reader her stories, many based on personal experiences, seem old-fashioned, sentimental, and sensational. They tend to be episodic, with each chapter coming to a dramatic ending. In Kildee; or, the Sphinx of the Red House, which Mrs. Bryan spun out serially in the Sunny South in 1883, a typical installment ends on a note of peril: "'We are lost,' she [the heroine] cried. 'The house is on fire. All below is in flames.'"[53]

But it was writing like that which caught the eye of New York publishers dedicated to meeting the demand for popular novels. Soon after Kildee had finally come to its conclusion in the issue of October 20,

1883, Mrs. Bryan was off to New York to attend to business connected with getting her books published. Her first book, Manch (a shortened form of Comanche), had been published by D. Appleton & Company in 1880, and the following year Appleton had brought out her Wild Work: Story of the Red River Tragedy, a tale of carpetbag rule and the Ku Klux Klan. In November, 1883, she may have gone to New York to confer with George Munro, who would publish Kildee in a twenty-cent paperback in 1886 and was to bring out several more of her novels. Eventually, in 1885, Munro would also bring Mrs. Bryan to New York as an editor for his magazines, the Half Hour and the Fashion Bazaar.[54]

In addition to serving as editor of the magazines, Mrs. Bryan ground out novels that appeared under the Munro imprint. Among them were Bayou Bride (1886); My Own Sin: Story of Life in New York (1889); and Uncle Ned's White Child (1889). Most were cheap editions selling for twenty or twenty-five cents. Somehow, in 1887 Mrs. Bryan also found time to edit Munro's Star Recitations for Parlor, School, and Exhibition. She also contributed to his Fireside Companion, which billed itself as "king of the story papers." Another dime novel publisher, Street & Smith, also brought out her work.[55]

Exactly how much George Munro paid Mrs. Bryan for her writing and editing talent is uncertain. A contemporary reported that she earned $10,000 a year in New York, while the Atlanta newspapers reporting her death put the figure at $25,000. The actual amount is probably somewhere in between. Another editor of the Bazaar, however, is said to have received more than $17,000 yearly for her contributions to the paper.[56]

While the salary Mrs. Bryan eventually received from Munro may have been large, when she first moved to New York she began for a rather modest amount. During the bargaining between the woman editor and the New York publisher over the amount she was to receive, he first offered her but $50 a week. Then he raised his offer twice, first to $60 and finally to $80, the last coming after Mrs. Bryan had called upon Munro. The publisher claimed he had made a mistake when he had offered her the $60 and wrote the same day to extend the higher offer.[57] Perhaps Munro had made a mistake, but his decision to increase his offer may also reflect the impression the lady writer from Atlanta had made on him; perhaps he wanted to make sure he would secure her services. Like Seals before him, Munro was making a wise move in hiring Mrs. Bryan, as her steady production in New York would show.

In New York Mrs. Bryan also found time for recreation. She was a member of the Sorosis Club and also vice president of the New York Woman's Press Club. She returned to Atlanta about 1895. An engraving of her published that year shows a rather stern-visaged, mature woman. Her dress is high-necked and has puffy sleeves. Mrs. Bryan's short, curly hair is would into a comb that sprouts directly atop her head into an abbreviated fan shape. She appears very much the proper Victorian lady.[58]

After the turn of the century Mrs. Bryan worked again for the Sunny South, which Seals had sold to the Atlanta Constitution. In 1907 the Constitution management merged the Sunny South with Uncle Remus's Magazine,

which had been edited by Joel Chandler Harris. Mrs. Bryan did editing work for Uncle Remus's and also contributed poems, short stories, and a column.[59]

Uncle Remus's went out of business in 1913. Mrs. Bryan died on June 15 of that year at her suburban Clarkston, Georgia, home. "In her death," wrote the Atlanta Journal, "literature suffers a great loss, for Mrs. Bryan was one of the best known women writers."[60]

While Mrs. Bryan had been off to New York to enlarge her reputation, her former boss, John H. Seals, had dropped into obscurity. At one time he had been well known not only as the publisher of the Sunny South but as a would-be politician as well. In 1882, while Mrs. Bryan was still working for him, Seals had run for mayor of Atlanta on a platform that called for abolishing all taxes. The publisher proposed to set up a city-owned fire insurance company, collect premiums which had formerly gone to private firms, and use the profits obtained to pay for fire losses, remunerate city officials, and embark on a broad program of civic improvements. Seals had finished last in a three-man race. Interestingly, Robert Bonner, the Ledger publisher, whose career Seals may have emulated, was at one time urged by New York papers to seek the mayor's office.[61]

Rejected in politics, Seals may then have turned even greater attention to building his Sunny South. One factor that surely figures in the paper's huge circulation gain was a concerted subscription campaign conducted during 1884. Then Seals cut the price of the paper from $2.50 to $2 a year and advertised it as "the cheapest illustrated weekly in the

United States." He also gave away premiums--dictionaries, books, pens, and silverware--to lure new readers. The Sunny South also offered lower rates for group subscriptions and promoted a club plan whereby a reader subscribing to the Atlanta paper could order, as well, a second paper at a reduced rate. As part of his effort to increase circulation, Seals also sent out eight young ladies as roving subscription agents. Advertisements for the paper played up the large number of syndicated features the Sunny South carried.[62]

In 1882, two years before the circulation campaign, Seals had merged the Boys and Girls of the South into the Sunny South. Boys and Girls, judging from the tone of the announcement of its closing, had turned unprofitable. At the time of the merger, W. F. Seals and N. T. Seals, who had been publishing the juvenile paper, emphasized that the inclusion of the new "Boys and Girls Department" in the Sunny South would make the surviving paper even more valuable as a family entertainment medium.[63]

Despite the 100,000 circulation the Sunny South is reported to have obtained, Seals may not have realized very much profit. Premiums for his circulation drive cost money, as did the salaries of his eight young lady subscription agents. There were, in addition, printing and distribution costs, as well as the costs for syndicated features. Salaries for Mrs. Bryan, Lionel Veazey, and other contributors to the paper must also have strained Seals's limited resources. Even if 100,000 subscribers did pay $2 each for the privilege of receiving the Sunny South, its publisher's profit margin may have been quite modest.

In 1891, though, Seals felt flush enough to give a banquet for the Georgia press at the office of the Sunny South. It was a grand affair--"enjoyable," as the Atlanta Constitution put it, "of every necessity." Chinese lanterns decorated the scene, a pianist and a violinist entertained, and there were a number of speeches. Publisher Seals was in an expansive mood. He recounted the struggle of his paper's early days but indicated that the hard times were past. For the four or five years before 1891, he said, it had been "smooth sailing," and the Sunny South had "done nothing but prosper."[64]

Two years after his fete for the Georgia press Seals sold the Sunny South to the Atlanta Constitution. He then disappears into the haze. He may, as the Constitution indicated at the time of his death in 1909, have returned to teaching, and he may also have contributed some writing to other publications. In any event his death, at the age of 76, came at the state sanitarium in Milledgeville. He was buried alongside his wife and their son in Atlanta's Oakland Cemetery.[65] Though the names of Mollie and Millard Seals have been carved into the pillar that marks the family plot, John H. Seals's name is missing. The Atlanta Journal, in an editorial at the time of his death, remarked, "He knew the wants of the people of the south and he met them in full measure. 'The Sunny South' occupied a unique place in the periodical literature of a generation ago, and upon every page of it Mr. Seals stamped the impress of his strong personality."[66]

Many gaps remain in the story of the Sunny South, its shrewd

publisher, and its prolific woman editor. A study of the Seals publishing empire might lead to valuable insights into the business operations of the South's most successful imitator of the Bonner formula. Further examination of the paper itself during its beginnings in the late 1870's and the period following Mrs. Bryan's departure would contribute to fleshing out the Sunny South's story. Study of the paper's editorials might uncover other issues that exercised Sunny South writers. Finally, research into Mrs. Bryan's career, and especially the 10 years she spent in New York, might turn up more details of the fascinating life and times of this productive journalist, novelist, and poet, whose modern outlook makes her very much the sister of today's liberated woman.

TABLE 1

ADVERTISING IN TWO REPRESENTATIVE ISSUES OF THE SUNNY SOUTH[a]

Issue	Patent Medicines	Gardening Needs	Music	Railway	Other	Approx. Total
April 9, 1881	2 1/4	1	1 1/2	2	1 1/2	8 1/4
Dec. 7, 1884	4 1/2	-	1 1/8	1	1/2	7 1/8

[a]Figures show the approximate column space given over to each advertising category. Each issue contained a total of 48 columns (eight pages of six columns per page).

NOTES

1. The 1880 estimate comes from N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1880), p. 109; though the more cautious American Newspaper Directory (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1880) lists the 1880 circulation as "exceeding five thousand" (p. 50). The 1882 figure is from that year's edition of the Ayer Annual, p. 124. Frank L. Mott mentions the 100,000 figure in A History of American Magazines, vol. III, 1865-1885 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 46. The Louisville Home and Farm was the other paper to reach the 100,000 mark.

2. Mary Noel, Villains Galore: The Heyday of the Popular Story Weekly (New York: Macmillan, 1954), p. 102.

3. U.S., Department of the Interior, Census Office, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: The Newspaper and Periodical Press, by S. N. D. North (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), 8: 119.

4. Ray M. Atchison, "Southern Literary Magazines, 1865-1887" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1956), pp. 49-50.

5. Noel, p. 103; Sunny South [hereafter SS], April 9, 1881, p. 4.

6. SS, April 9, 1881, p. 4.

7. Noel, pp. 289-93.

8. Atchison, pp. 67-70, 102-04.

9. The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography [hereafter NCAB], 1892, s.v. "Seals, John Henry."

10. NCAB, s.v. "Bryan, Mary Edwards." Mrs. Bryan was later reconciled with her husband, Iredell E. Bryan; they had five children. Sources differ over details of Mrs. Bryan's early life. The NCAB says she was born May 17, 1842; while Mildred L. Rutherford says she was born in Fonda, Jefferson County, Florida, in 1844. Rutherford, The South in History and Literature (Atlanta: Franklin-Turner Co., 1907), p. 242. The earlier date seems more plausible. Most sources say Mrs. Bryan had been married at 15 or 16 and that after her return to her parents's home had studied at College Temple in Newnan, Georgia. It seems hardly possible she could have accomplished all that and still have been but 16 when she moved to Atlanta. For further details on Mrs. Bryan's early life, see also the Dictionary of American Biography [hereafter DAB], 1929, s.v. "Bryan, Mary Edwards," by Muriel Shaver; Atlanta Journal,

May 9, 1935, p. 10; "First Southern Woman Editor Now a Visitor in Miami," undated clipping, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Knight Scrapbook, vol. 7, p. 64; Lucian L. Knight, comp., Library of Southern Literature, vol. XV (Atlanta: Martin and Hoyt Co., 1907), p. 60. The most authoritative source on Mrs. Bryan's early life, and the one from which most of her other biographical sketches seem to have flowed, is Ida Raymond (pseud. of Mary T. Tardy), ed., Living Female Writers of the South (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger, 1872), pp. 316-322.

11. Atlanta Journal, May 9, 1935, p. 10; Raymond, pp. 321-22.

12. Raymond, pp. 323-24.

13. James W. Davidson, The Living Writers of the South (New York: Carleton, 1869), pp. 72, 76.

14. Bertram H. Flanders, Early Georgia Magazines: Literary Periodicals to 1865 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1944), p. 162; Ruth E. Feldman, "A Checklist of Atlanta Newspapers, 1846-1948" (unpublished Master's thesis, Emory University, 1948), p. 28; Atlanta Constitution, May 2, 1891, p. 2.

15. Atlanta Constitution, May 2, 1891, p. 2: NCAB, s.v. "Seals, John Henry;" Knight Scrapbook, loc. cit.

16. Noel, p. 57.

17. Atlanta Constitution, May 2, 1891, p. 2.

18. SS, May 17, 1884, p. 4; Noel, p. 102.

19. The Model Boy. Millard Seals, the Christian Hero, Magic Orator, and Distinguished Sunday-school Scholar (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1881), pp. 33-38. The obituary Mrs. Bryan wrote on Millard for the Sunny South is included in this volume, as well as a poem of hers in his memory.

20. Noel, p. 102; Atlanta Journal, May 9, 1935, p. 10; American Newspaper Directory (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1879), p. 41.

21. Sholes' Directory of the City of Atlanta for 1878, vol. II ([Atlanta:] A. E. Sholes, n.d.), opposite pp. 16-17; Ayer Annual (1880), p. 109.

22. Sholes' Directory of Atlanta for 1878, vol. II, p. 56; Ayer Annual (1880), p. 109; Atchison, p. 396; Sholes' Georgia State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1881-82, vol. II (Atlanta: A. E. Sholes & Co., 1881), p. 161.

23. Littleton H. Moore, "Poetry in The Sunny South, 1882" (unpublished Master's thesis, Emory University, 1958), pp. [i], 1, 5.

24. Atlanta Constitution, June 16, 1913, p. 1; SS, Nov. 15, 1884, p. 4.

25. SS, April 9, 1881, p. 4; July 2, 1881, p. 4.

26. Ibid., Oct. 29, 1881, p. 4.

27. Ibid., Dec. 17, 1881, p. 4; March 3, 1883, p. 4; Jan. 19, 1884, p. 4.

28. Ibid., April 15, 1882, p. 4.

29. Ibid., May 27, 1882, p. 4; Aug. 26, 1882, p. 4.

30. Ibid., April 1, 1882, p. 4. Earlier, Veazey had come out in favor of corporal punishment for unruly youngsters. "Let the children know distinctly what will be an offense, and make them know by a painful experience that the offense will be followed by punishment," he had written in the SS of July 2, 1881, p. 4.

31. SS, Nov. 10, 1883, p. 4; Aug. 16, 1884, p. 4.

32. Ibid., March 8, 1884, p. 8; May 24, 1884, p. 4.

33. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1884, p. 5.

34. Ibid., July 16, 1881, p. 4; July 23, 1881, p. 4.

35. Ibid., Dec. 10, 1881, p. 4. Mrs. Bryan usually wrote "Random Talks," but her by-line does not appear over this particular column and some others. For insight into the controversy surrounding the Guiteau case, see Charles E. Rosenberg, The Trial of the Assassin Guiteau: Psychiatry and Law in the Gilded Age (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

36. SS, Feb. 11, 1882, p. 4.

37. Ibid., April 29, 1882, p. 4; May 13, 1882, p. 4.

38. Ibid., Dec. 17, 1881, p. 4.

39. Ibid., April 9, 1881, p. 4.

40. Ibid., July 15, 1882, p. 4; Aug. 5, 1882, p. 4.

41. Ibid., Dec. 13, 1884, p. 4.

42. Ibid., Aug. 9, 1884, p. 5.

43. Aileen S. Kraditor, The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965).

44. SS, June 11, 1881, p. 3.

45. Ibid., Sept. 3, 1881, p. 4.

46. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1884, p. 5; March 28, 1885, p. 4. Mrs. Bryan's own profession was quite open to women, many of whom became writers and editors after the war. See Anne F. Scott, The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 118-121.

47. The writer who attacked coeducation was "S.A.W.," probably Susan Archer Weiss. Her piece appeared in the SS of May 28, 1881, p. 4. Mrs. Bryan's opinion on the subject appeared in the SS of October 8, 1881, p. 4.

48. SS, Feb. 25, 1882, p. 4.

49. Ibid., Aug. 9, 1884, p. 4.

50. Ibid., Aug. 19, 1882, p. 4; July 5, 1884, p. 5; Aug. 2, 1884, p. 4.

51. Ibid., July 5, 1884, p. 5; July 11, 1885, p. 4.

52. Wallace P. Reed, "Literature and Journalism," in Memoirs of Georgia (Atlanta: Southern Historical Association, 1895), vol. II, p. 51.

53. SS, Aug. 18, 1884, p. 2.

54. Ibid., Nov. 10, 1883, p. 4. There is no inclusive list of Mrs. Bryan's works. References to her books here come from several sources. Among the more helpful are R. R. Bowker, comp., The American Catalogue, 1876-1884, 1884-1890 (New York: Peter Smith, 1941; reprinted by special arrangement with R. R. Bowker Co.); and Mrs. Bryan's biographies in the DAB and the NCAB. See also Knight Scrapbook, loc. cit.

55. American Catalogue, 1884-1890; DAB s.v. "Bryan, Mary Edwards."

56. Reed, p. 51; Atlanta Constitution, June 16, 1913, p. 1; Atlanta Journal, June 16, 1913, p. 4; Noel, p. 152.

57. Munro to Mrs. Bryan, Sept. 14, 1885, Sept. 30, [1885]. Both letters are in the possession of Mrs. Bryan's great-great-grandson, Albert S. Johnson of Athens, Ga.

58. Atlanta Journal, May 9, 1935, p. 10; Knight Scrapbook, loc. cit. The engraving is the frontispiece to Mrs. Bryan's Poems and Stories in Verse (Atlanta: Chas. P. Byrd, 1895).

59. Knight Scrapbook, loc. cit., Feldman, p. 48.

60. Atlanta Journal, June 16, 1913, p. 4.

61. Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, vol. II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1954), p. 53; Noel, p. 56.

62. SS, May 3, 1884, p. 8; Nov. 15, 1884, p. 4.

63. Ibid., April 29, 1882, p. 8.

64. Atlanta Constitution, May 2, 1891, p. 2.

65. Ibid., Feb. 11, 1909, p. 7.

66. Atlanta Journal, Feb. 11, 1909, p. 8.